

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----011967 080402Z /65
O 080320Z MAR 78 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9921
WHITEHOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00815

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FOR THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, BRZEZINSKI, VANCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, XA
SUBJECT: AFRICA POLICY

1. THERE ARE TWO AND POSSIBLY ONLY TWO PRINCIPLES ON WHICH AFRICA IS UNITED. THESE ARE: A. PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, B. ANTI-COLONIALISM AND MAJORITY RULE.

2. THERE ARE MANY OTHER PRINCIPLES AND ATTITUDES IN WHICH THERE IS CONSIDERABLE AFRICAN INTEREST EVEN MAJORITY CONCERN BUT ONLY ON THESE TWO IS THERE UNANIMITY.

3. THE RUSSIANS HAVE MANAGED TO BE ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THESE TWO ISSUES WHILE WE HAVE BEEN HESITANT OR EQUIVOCAL IN THE LIGHT OF OTHER INTERESTS.

4. THE RESULT IS THAT WE GET CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE AS A RESULT OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH, FOOD AND AGRICULTURE, INVESTMENT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BUT JEOPARDIZE IT ALL BECAUSE
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OF OUR EQUIVOCATION ON THE ESSENTIAL AFRICAN ISSUES.

5. IN THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA SITUATION AS IN ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA WE LOST CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE BY NOT REALIZING THE UNANIMITY OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY ISSUE WHILE THE SOVIETS MOVED QUICKLY TO SUPPORT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS OF NIGERIA AND ETHIOPIA.

6. IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WE HAVE BEEN SLOW TO IDENTIFY WITH THE MAJORITY ASPIRATIONS OF FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

7. ON EVERY OTHER ISSUE WE HAVE AN OUTSTANDING AND CREDIBLE RECORD AND THE SOVIETS ARE MISERABLE.

8. SO FAR, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE VERY WELL ON THE COLONIALISM-MAJORITY RULE ISSUE. WE WERE SLOW - MYSELF INCLUDED - IN REALIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY ISSUE. IT REALLY STRAINS MY VALUES TO SUPPORT A REPRESSIVE REGIME AS THE ONE IN ETHIOPIA, BUT AFRICA HAS SEEN REPRESSIVE REGIMES COME AND GO. REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE THREATENS ONLY A FEW STATES BUT EVERY AFRICAN NATION HAS BORDER PROBLEMS AND NONE CAN AFFORD TO SUPPORT BORDER CHANGES WITHOUT THREATENING THEMSELVES.

9. OUR INSENSITIVITY TO AFRICAN PRIORITIES HAS CREATED A VACUUM IN WHICH RUSSIAN AND CUBAN FORCES GAIN AN ADVANTAGE. I KNOW WE DEFERRED TO THE OAU, AND ARE INNOCENT OF ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT IN THE HORN, BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF MILITARY OPTIONS (AND I THINK
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THE POST VIETNAM PERIOD HAS SERIOUSLY LIMITED ALL MILITARY OPTIONS UNLESS THE US HERSELF IS DIRECTLY THREATENED), IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE DEVELOP A CREATIVE, AGGRESSIVE AND SENSITIVE DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO ALL QUESTIONS.

10. THIS WE HAVE DONE VERY WELL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PANAMA, SALT AND UP TO NOW IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

11. I AM AFRAID THAT OUR PRESENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR JEOPARDIZING THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE. A WAIT AND SEE ATTITUDE IN RHODESIA NOW IS JUST LIKE OUR ATTITUDE OF TEN MONTHS AGO IN THE HORN. IT CREATES A VACUUM WHICH ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL BE FILLED BY SOVIET-CUBAN FORCES, AND ONCE AGAIN THEY WILL HAVE THE SOLID SUPPORT OF AFRICA.

12. ALTERNATIVELY, ACTION ON OUR PART HAS RISKS, BUT WE WOULD BE ENTERTAINING THOSE RISKS WITH THE SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND COULD WITH A CONCERTED EFFORT WIN SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT AS WELL.

13. OUR ENEMY IN AFRICA IS CHAOS. WE CAN NEGOTIATE WITH AND ULTIMATELY INFLUENCE ANY EDUCATED AFRICAN LEADERSHIP. THEIR POWER DEPENDS ON THEIR ABILITY TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE ONCE THE FIGHTING STOPS AND THE RUSSIANS HAVE NEVER ASSISTED MUCH IN THAT DIRECTION. WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, CAPITAL, MANAGEMENT AND MARKETS ARE THE BASIS OF THE KIND OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION THE PRESIDENT SPELLED OUT IN HIS NOTRE

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O 080320Z MAR 78 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9922
WHITEHOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00815

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FOR THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, BRZEZINSKI, VANCE

DAME SPEECH.

14. IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO EXPLAIN THE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS SITUATION TO OUR PUBLIC AND THE CONGRESS, BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE TRY. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE SITUATION CANNOT BE RESOLVED IN THE SIMPLISTIC TERMS OF COMMUNIST AND TERRORISTS VERSUS MODERATES. I HOPE YOU WON'T MIND MY TAKING ON THIS CHALLENGE.

15. I KNOW IT IS DIFFICULT WITH SUCH A CROWDED AGENDA TO FOCUS ON RHODESIA, BUT I HOPE THAT WE CAN KEEP OUR POLICY MOVING FORWARD. A BREAKTHROUGH IN AFRICA COULD ALSO BE A VERY POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO OUR OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY SITUATION. IT IS NOT LIKELY TO OCCUR SOON, BUT IT CAN MOVE FORWARD THIS YEAR IN BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. YOUNG

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, FOREIGN RELATIONS, REPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN00815
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: FOR THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, BRZEZINSKI, VANCE
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840156-2331
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780390/aaaacymg.tel
Line Count: 167
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2fe50fcb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3397280
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AFRICA POLICY
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, PREL, XA, US
To: STATE WHITE HOUSE MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2fe50fcb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014